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NSC BRIEFING

Approved For Release 2000/08/29 : CIA-RDP79R00890A001300010008-4

19 October 1960

Khrushchev rather than Zhivkov

SINO-SOVIET DISPUTE

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- I. We have obtained, [REDACTED], account of Bulgarian Party Chief Zhivkov's views on "world situation."
- A. Report is apparently Zhivkov's version of what Khrushchev told him in New York early this month and reflects Soviet position on Sino-Soviet dispute following failure of Suslov mission to Peiping in late September.
- B. While third-hand and therefore subject to distortion, we think it is authentic statement of what Khrushchev wants Satellite leaders to believe.
- II. According to Zhivkov, US now deterred from war by military strength of USSR.
- A. However, while USSR now able to "liberate humanity from capitalism" by war, "such a war would put humanity centuries behind. Socialism would have to be constructed anew in the world.... As a result, therefore, we cannot wage war."
- III. Crux of Soviet differences with Chinese is that latter do not understand this situation.
- A. Chinese cite Lenin's authority to back their contention that "imperialist war ministries" will decide whether or not there is war. Therefore, war is inevitable.
1. It follows in Peiping's mind that the ^{policy} ~~police~~ of "peaceful coexistence" urged by the Soviets is "purely pacifist" and "will lead world revolution to its downfall."

DOCUMENT NO. 16
NO CHANGE IN CLASS. 11
DECLASSIFIED

CLASS. CHANGED TO: TS S
NEXT REVIEW DATE: 1/30/90

APR 11, 1990

Approved For Release 2000/08/29 : CIA-RDP79R00890A001300010008-4

REVIEWER: 372044

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B. Chinese do not understand that Lenin taught inevitability of war before there was a "socialist system."

C. Zhivkov claims if Lenin were alive today he would have revised his position himself, because now socialist system exists and is strong enough to avert war. (Note: This is response to Chinese charge that Khrushchev is a "revisionist.")

IV. Among other charges against Chinese:

- A. Chinese engaged in "splinter activity." They pretend to accept leadership of USSR but actually work against it.
- B. Chinese believe that such leaders as Nehru and Nasir have become "weapons of imperialism" and this has led China to antagonize political forces which support Soviet foreign policy objectives.
- C. Chinese refused to allow Soviets to base submarines on their territory. (While we cannot confirm this, we have it from another source, and believe it to be true.)
- D. After Bucharest Conference (in June) Chinese "invaded Soviet territory and started construction of fortifications against the USSR." (No direct confirmation of this, but could be Soviet version of some incident on undemarcated sector, such as in Pamir Mountains on Soviet-Sinkiang border.) Soviet publications have recently made unusual references to border guard activity.)

V. Zhivkov confirms that November meeting in Moscow to deal with Chinese is still scheduled, and that a "general party commission" is working on document to be signed at the meeting.

A. Clear from his remarks that top Communist leadership expects real showdown.

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B. He says, "Chinese...need elementary discipline."

1. "Mao Tse-tung lives as a hermit far from Peiping where he is torn from reality. The cult of personality is very strong, mixed as it is with the mentality of Buddhism."
2. What this means is that Soviets cannot accept build-up of Mao as greatest living Marxist theoretician, which implies Moscow no longer doctrinal center of world communism.

C. According to Zhivkov, while Soviets do not want Chinese to "leave socialist camp," Moscow cannot back down because "basic fundamental questions" involved.

VI. Apparently Soviets hope to confront Chinese with unanimous condemnation of world communist parties, force them at least to sign a manifesto in support of Soviet views.

A. However, fact that Albanian party dares to support Chinese suggests a strong undercurrent of pro-Chinese sentiment in Communist world.

1. Albanians' apostasy admitted by Zhivkov, who called them "barbaric."
2. He refers to apparent defeat in late August-early September of pro-Soviet faction in Albanian leadership, including fifth-ranking Politburo member Liri Belishova.
3. Many arrests reported among military and regional officials; others apparently fled to Yugoslavia. Belishova ousted.
4. Since this shakeup Albanians taking more open pro-Chinese line, and Chinese responding in kind.

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- B. Zhivkov, however, says all parties except Albanians support Khrushchev. (We think this is doubtful. Several parties--e.g., Vietnamese, Korean, Mongolian, Japanese--would prefer to remain neutral or actually sympathize with Peiping. They would probably sign Khrushchev's document if he carries things to a showdown, but they would make strong efforts to avoid reaching that point.)
- C. Zhivkov concludes that agreement with China will probably not be reached in Moscow, and it is "not unlikely" that China will leave "socialist camp." (We also do not expect any basic agreement, but we have tended to play down the possibility of anything quite so dramatic as a complete break in party and governmental relations. We think such a break would weaken Khrushchev's support among the other parties, and quite possibly affect his standing in the Soviet party itself.)

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